

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Editor.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

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WHOLE NO. 467.

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

MARLBORO CONVENTION.

A meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society by call of its agents, was convened at 10 A. M., on Saturday, Sept. 2nd, in a grove two miles north of Marlboro, Stark Co., Ohio. The President of the Society took the Chair, and Charles H. Garrigue was appointed Secretary. The appointment of a Business Committee followed, consisting of C. C. Burleigh, Leonard Griffing, Lewis Morgan, Wm. H. May, and B. C. Gilbert. On motion of Lewis Morgan, C. S. Griffing, Mary L. Gilbert, Lavinia Thorp and Lewis Erwin, were appointed a Committee on Finance, and upon the affairs of the A. S. Bugle. A recess was then taken for an hour and a half.

At 1 1/2 P. M., the meeting was called to order, and the following resolutions were offered by the Business Committee:

Resolved, That the word sin is without meaning, if it do not in a pre-eminent degree apply to slavery—namely, as there is no law of nature which it does not outrage—no command in the decalogue which it does not violate, no principle or precept of Jesus or Jehovah which it does not set at defiance.

Resolved, That the sin and crime of Slavery are not that it requires use of territory for its own extension; that it stifles freedom of speech, of the press, or of locomotion, the right of trial by jury or of habeas corpus; that it seeks to compel the people of the North to return fugitive slaves to bondage, or to pay their price and suffer other penalties, though all this it does; but that it seizes man, the image and likeness of the invisible God, disrobes him of every human and divine attribute, quenches the spirit and soul as far as possible in utter darkness, and binds the body, thus imbruted, in chains, as property, to be driven as a beast under the scourge, whenever and wherever he will or caprice, the law or the lust of irresponsible tyrants shall elect or desire; therefore,

Resolved, That our warfare is with the slave claimant, upon the doctrine that man can never, under any possible or conceivable circumstances, hold property in his fellow man.

Resolved, That American Slavery is not only a disgrace and curse to America, but a hindrance to the triumph of liberal principles and to the establishment of popular forms of government among the nations of the earth at large.

Resolved, That the advocates and upholders of American Slavery are the friends of oppression and tyranny, of wrong and cruelty, in every part of the world; while the enemies of American Slavery are the friends and benefactors of the whole human race.

The discussion of these resolutions then ensued.

Mr. LEONARD B. GRIFFING said: It is said in these resolutions that slavery is a sin. Are there any serious consequences to be apprehended from the commission of sin and continuance in it, by intelligent beings? If there be not, if no retribution may reasonably be anticipated, selfishness may induce us to remain silent and inactive. But if there be accountability for wrongdoing, now is the time for us to pause and consider the consequences to ourselves and others. I have come to the conclusion that it is time for me to feel all I ought to feel, to do all I ought to do on the subject of Slavery. There is a class who profess to believe in God and to worship Him, and that they expect at some future day, to be accountable to him, who, although convicted of the right, pursue the wrong, and defer the day of repentance. And there is another, and I am thankful it is an increasing class, who believe they must begin to meet consequences now. However I may have been connected with those who cry peace, when there is no peace, I believe now that we never can escape present responsibility, no more than the future retribution which awaits us for our participation in this crime. The African slave-trade has ever required the most selfish and devilish men to carry it on, and yet it has had the sanction of men highly popular, both ecclesiastically and politically. I know a village in the East, where there are individuals who have amassed millions by this traffic; but it is all wasted and gone. Some of these are in situations needing charity to eke out their existence.

After all that has been said and done to awaken the public mind, the community is still asleep. Men are as dead, apparently, to the real nature of this crime, as of any other that can be imagined. But the Anti-Slavery cause is the cause of God. Heaven has set an approving seal upon it. All of the infernal powers are inadequate to stop its onward progress. The electric shock is being felt throughout community, and the work must still be onward.

C. S. S. GRIFFING said: I will read again the resolutions. You will perceive we differ from those who assert there may be circumstances where there is no sin in the relation of slaveholding. And we differ, too, from those who aim at restricting Slavery to its present limits, who aim to render it sectional, and proclaim their willingness for a government in which they can meet and act with slaveholders as brothers, in legislative council. We differ, likewise, from those who ask such a modification of slave-entailing laws, that if a man be consigned to slavery by the decision of a jury, they will say Amen, and help fulfill the law. Our warfare is truly with the slave claimant, and our warfare is the surrender of his ungodly claim to human ownership in all places and under all circumstances. What hope for the slave of Carolina, from a party which seeks only the repeal of the Nebraska statute, or the modification of the slave laws? What matters it to him where he is located, or by what tenure held, when body and soul is put at the mercy of an irresponsible tyrant?

C. C. BURLEIGH said: These resolutions are fundamental—begin at the bottom. People who do not assent verbally to propositions like these, do not assent to the full extent to which such assent logically commits them. For instance, some may admit their truth, who still continue in religious fellowship with slaveholders. Others, also, who refuse to withdraw from the political parties, which are bound by the common platform to which they have subscribed, to fulfill the behests of the slave power. And again, there are those still further advanced in their opposition to slavery, but who, by swearing fealty to the Constitution of the U. S., and by electing their agents, compel themselves to a choice between perjury or the defence of Slavery. These are some of the reasons why we must continue to press the proposition that Slavery is a

sin against God, and opposed to the whole tenor of the Christian Gospel.

Just think of the condition at which the American people have arrived, when it has become necessary, gravely, and laboriously and perseveringly to argue before them the sinfulness of making a beast, a chattel, of a man! To this degradation have we sunk, when men of cultivated intellects, "of sapient eye serene," of high position ecclesiastically and politically, not only fail to acknowledge the truth of our doctrine, but positively pronounce it false, and claim for the institution of Slavery the sanction of the God of Heaven.

By the Constitution, and the statutes made under it, they also assume the rightfulness of Slavery, and in this mode attempt to legalize and justify the changing of a man into a brute. Before this audience, I need not argue this point, unless you can point me to the man who will assent to the doctrine that it would be right to reduce himself to Slavery.

There be those who admit the right of the slave to escape from bondage, but deny our right to assist him. But it is easily demonstrable that what it is right for another to do, it must be right for us to assist him in doing, so far as we may have it in our power.

Slaveholding being sin, on all occasions and in all ways, it should be treated as a sin. Sometimes it is said that, although man-stealing is a sin, yet we should not attach this stigma to the names of our Southern brethren, for they have come into the possession of their slaves by purchase or inheritance. To this our answer is—no slave lives who has not been, in his own proper person, stolen! And divide and subdivide as you may the period of his servitude, he is stolen, and the theft renewed and renewed, in every one of these. It is a daily and hourly stealing and kidnapping. It is not true that any slaveholder has obtained his victim honestly. Were I to give you a deed for all this land which surrounds me, it would not convey a title to you, for I possess none in it; and for the same reason there can be no transfer of human property. The rightful owner is ever at hand, claiming possession of his own,—himself. When the infant of the slave mother is assumed to be and treated as property, a crime is committed equal to that of stealing a man from his native haunts in Africa. If to reduce a human being in Africa to the condition of a slave be piracy, so it is to do the same thing in America. The slave's right to freedom never expires. It is always part and parcel of his existence. It makes no difference where you steal the man, the crime is the same, and so it should be treated. And, as the nation by its laws has applied the brand of piracy to the enslaving of the native African, it has, by inevitable logical consequence, placed the seal of the same condemnation on slaveholding in America.

The Convention then adjourned till half-past 9 of Sunday the 3d.

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION.
When the Convention came to order, an appropriate prayer was offered by Leonard B. Griffing. A song by the Marlboro Choir preceded the further discussion of the resolutions. In the absence of the Secretary, Joshua Morgan was appointed his assistant. Mr. Griffing, of Connecticut, then addressed the meeting at some length. After a song by the Heights, C. C. Burleigh introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise is, in the true sense of the term, a religious enterprise; its fundamental principles being identical with those inculcated by Jesus and his apostles; its measures accordant with the spirit of the gospel, and its success essential to the complete triumph of Christianity in our land.

Advocating this resolution, Mr. BURLEIGH said: The resolution asserts that ours is a religious enterprise. This may sound strange to many, who have heard their Doctors of Divinity, their Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers in the Church give character to those who are engaged in carrying it forward. Who has not heard them denouncing those who have borne the burden of the contest as infidels? But I would counsel you to stop and seek a definition of the word infidel, as used by these men. [Here the speaker read an extract from an orthodox clergyman in Connecticut.] "A new race of infidels has arisen, not profane, unchristian, immoral, as were their predecessors, and as many of their contemporaries are; but evincing a regard for God, for truth, for humanity, for morals; and whose complaint is, that the Church are arrayed against God, against truth, against humanity, against sound morals. It is an evil hour when infidelity can marshal its forces with humanity for its watchword, with the conscience of the world on its side, while Christianity in the hands of those who betray its interests, leads forth its hosts to do battle for oppression."

So that which the preacher calls infidelity, is marshaling his forces, with humanity for its watchword, and the world's conscience on its side. Now what is humanity, in its broad sense? In a restricted sense, but that in which it is frequently, perhaps most frequently used, it is kindness, compassion, pity for the suffering, the disposition to relieve distress, to help the needy and oppressed. In this meaning of the word, we have a hint at what is included in its full and broad significance. For what spirit is it which prompts men to do good, to relieve the suffering and assist the helpless? Is it not that divine spirit of love, which is the essence of His character, whom Jesus represents as his Father and our Father, his God and our God? In its original, true, and widest sense, humanity means the sum of all the qualities which make up man, whether in the individual or the race. It is synonymous with manhood, and expresses all which is peculiar and essential to our nature. It is the "brotherhood of man," a formula which expresses a world of glorious truth, and implies as much as it professes. For brotherhood implies a common origin as well as a common nature and right. In this formula, therefore, is contained the doctrine of human equality, and of the Divine Fatherhood. It teaches us to recognize every man, of whatever clime, color or condition, as a brother, the child of a common Father. No matter what the complexion or the conformation, all are members of one family, co-heirs of the same rich inheritance of a lofty nature, by virtue of their creation in the Divine image, and of that breathing of the

spirit of life, whereby a being fashioned of the dust became "a living soul," an embodied emanation of the Divine essence,—God manifest in the flesh. All are princes of a royal household, of a Sovereign who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. What is it to us that one calls himself master, and terms another slave? Boasts his Anglo-Saxon blood, and looks with scorn upon his neighbor, whom he styles an African? All are alike of one lineage, children of one God.

This, then, is our starting point, we next come necessarily to the conclusion that Slavery is essentially and invariably wrong. For by what process of right can man enslave his brother, and transmute the children of God into marketable commodities? And in this arriving at the demonstration of the essential and invariable sinfulness of slavery, we are compelled to perceive the duty of immediate emancipation, and to labor for its accomplishment.

The resolution declares these principles to be identical with those inculcated by Jesus and his apostles. On this point I need spend little time, for you have your New Testaments at home, and can read in them for yourselves, the teachings of Jesus, and of Paul and his fellow apostles. That they teach the brotherhood of man, and the duty of recognizing that brotherhood; the wrongfulness of denying it in act, and the duty of ceasing all wrong-doing immediately, you need no argument or testimony from me to prove. Their language is, as you already know, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" do unto others as you would that they should do to you; God hath made of one blood all nations of men, all the law is fulfilled in one word, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; if ye have respect unto persons ye commit sin; we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak; bear ye one another's burdens; be kindly affectioned one to another, in honor preferring one another; and abundance more of the same kind. But we never read there, degrade and oppress thy neighbor; we that are strong may compel the weak to minister to us; roll off your burdens upon others; prefer yourselves in all things; and the like.

The next point in the resolution is that the Anti-Slavery enterprise is a truly religious one, because it aims to make these New Testament doctrines, these fundamental truths a practical reality, and that, too, where the need of their practical application is most urgent. We go to the lowly, the outcast, the degraded, and apply them to these. To those robbed of themselves and consigned to ignorance, debasement and leathenship. We reach down to the lowest stratum of human nature, and labor to lift it up, knowing that if we elevate this we raise also the superincumbent mass. If Christianity is good for anything, here is the place to test its goodness. If it cannot do this, if it be not competent, when applied, to perform what is demanded by the necessities of this case, it is not what it is claimed to be. If it cannot bring glad tidings to the poor, bind up the broken hearted, and set the captive free, it is time that it be exposed, as a delusion and imposture. We believe it can do this, and therefore are diligent in our efforts to accomplish by it what we believe to be its mission to humanity.

I pass to the next point in the resolution which claims for the enterprise a religious character, because its measures accord with the principles and teachings of the gospel. Our method is the proclamation of the truth. We use not carnal but spiritual weapons. We appeal not to the sword of battle and the confused noise of warriors, with garments rolled in blood; but to that moral power whose action, though unheeded by the worldly-wise, is sure and irresistible. We aim not to batter down the oppressor's stronghold, and his captive's dungeon, with cannon shot, but we propose to diffuse through the whole atmosphere which surrounds them, an element of such caustic potency as shall eat into and corrode the solid granite, destroy the cohesion of its minutest particles, first crumbling their massive walls, then pulverizing them to an impalpable powder, and at last dissolve them to an invisible vapor which shall float away on the wind.

We remember that of old the plan devised "to save them that believe," was by "the foolishness of preaching;" and in this philosophy we have unflinching faith. We know that when we appeal to violence, we place ourselves upon a level with the oppressor, and have no longer the advantage of our weapons. Rejecting the resort to physical force ourselves, we cannot encourage or encourage its use by those for whom we plead. We believe Slavery can never be abolished till the heart is reached. Thus we aim to reach the understanding by the power of truth, and touch the heart by the power of love. To moral power alone we appeal, knowing that if we convert the people by this that all the rest will follow.

The last point in the resolution is, that the triumph of Christianity can never be complete till the Anti-Slavery enterprise is successful. So long as man is imbruted by Slavery, it is manifest that a religion which is founded on universal human brotherhood can never prevail.

HALF-PAST 1 P. M. The meeting again convened, and was addressed by Henry Riley, who represents himself to be a fugitive slave. On motion of C. S. S. Griffing, Dr. K. G. Thomas was added to the Finance Committee.

M. R. ROBINSON followed in a speech on the resolutions. He said: In the song of this morning, by our young friends, there was one expression which struck me with great force:

"Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way!"

We find in our efforts to deliver the oppressed, very much indeed in our way.

Individuals and organizations—church-members—deacons—ministers and politicians—churches—parties and the government all stand in the way. Our work is to get them out of the way—a thankless task—but one from which we may not be excused. Because we address ourselves to it, we get the reputation of grumblers, traitors and infidels. This reputation I suppose we must retain, till our work is done. It is a great work as well as a thankless one. And we are but a handful, with the governing party, the President, the nation against us. Yet we need not despair. For emancipation is so natural a thing, that it will come, will come of itself, if we but "clear the way."

itself, if we but "clear the way." No wonder that patriots call us traitors; we are such. This audience has to be false to the government, to listen to the words of the fugitive slave who has just addressed us from this platform. If we were true to the government, he would not dare to be with us. We should be delivering him up to his master.

One of the greatest obstacles in our way is the Church and Ministry. By them Slavery has been set up as God, and worshipped. For the sake of Slavery, they ignore the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and the eternal truths upon which it is founded. Singularly, in our experience, we have to-day two ministers upon our platform. They are taking themselves out of the way, and the consequence to them, I doubt not, will be persecution by their sectarian brethren. The Church, as a mass, stands in opposition to the emancipation of the slave to-day; exceptions exist, but the preponderance is in favor of Slavery; and for the sake of sectarian Union, they renounce that gospel which opens the prison doors to those that are bound. In our efforts to get these obstacles out of the way we are called infidels. You have heard, in the resolution and the argument of Mr. Burleigh, that the Anti-Slavery enterprise is a religious one. And so it is, if the apostle understood religion, who said, "Pure religion and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this: to visit the widow and the fatherless in their afflictions, and keep yourselves unspotted from the world." In opposition to our efforts to convert the world to a true gospel, the Church has set itself to corrupt it by manifold efforts in behalf of Slavery, one of the more recent and striking evidences of which is the selection of the Rev. Wm. S. Plummer as the agent to train religiously the young men who are to preach to the people of Pennsylvania and Ohio and other regions. His Pro-Slavery character is so well known to you I need not describe it, and yet in selecting a Professor for their theological institution at Pittsburgh, the Presbyterians could find no one in this broad land so well suited as he to their designs. And what these are, and that they are to promote the interests of Slavery through the religious training of the people, is quite too manifest. The slaveholders have deliberately formed the purpose to corrupt Northern morals by a Pro-Slavery theology, (the most efficient of instrumentalities.) The Presbyterian Church are their tools for this purpose. We are opposed to them, and we are obliged to be so as long as we are true to the slave. And we give notice to the ministers and churches that we intend to oppose them so long as they remain in their present position in support of Slavery. Our work with them is to "clear the way."

The ministers bring their Bible and cast it before us in our march towards freedom for the slave. They claim that it is opposed to us and our designs, and that in its pages God has sanctioned Slavery, and then call us sacrilegious, when we march onward undeterred by their pious tricks. And if a Bible can be brought which does support Slavery, it ought to be trampled under foot. And so it is with the churches. We do try to break up their Pro-Slavery influence, and in an encouraging degree are successful.

The church which is in favor of humanity has nothing to fear from us. We have nothing to say which can hurt it. Some churches have been rent and divided, it is true, and why? Because the Pro-Slavery portions of them have sought to persecute their fellow members who were awake to the evils of humanity. They endeavored to gag them, and resistance was natural, and disruption of the church inevitable. We are thus clearing the way.

We have the same task to perform with the political parties and the General Government, which is a great Pro-Slavery machine. We are trying to get it out of the way, and why? Because it is an agreement to perpetuate Slavery, and next to the church its strongest bulwark. It is an Union by which we agree that not one foot of soil under its jurisdiction shall be an asylum of safety to that man (pointing to the fugitive slave.) We call our platform free, but it is a mistake—he can be legally taken from it at any moment. But for the Union, if that infernal deed were done, if that man were again transformed into a chattel, Virginia would have to perform the horrible deed, and Ohio would have a legal right to protect him. Now, it is your work, and you are traitors to the Constitution and the Union in not doing it. This is what you swear to do when you swear to support the United States Constitution. We are traitors, and we can afford to be to the Constitution and the laws, so long as we are true to God and Liberty.

Slaveholders use government, religion, everything for the support of Slavery. We should learn from them. The first duty for us is to make our own hearts clean. Separate from all political and religious connections which allow of Slavery. You are many of you, voters. Do you ever think of your own State Constitution, which declares there shall be no Slavery within your State? Your Governor, Representatives, and other officers swear to support it, and also the Constitution of the U. S., and the latter pledges every foot of our soil as hunting ground for the slave-catching man-thief. Your officers perform themselves in regard to the one or the other. And as you will vote, I wish you would instruct your officers which of these traitors you wish them to obey, and which be traitors to. I think we ought to respect our own constitutional law, and nullify everything opposed to it in principle. We ask you, as Franklin did Congress, to go to the very verge of your power against Slavery—yes, beyond your constitutional power in favor of Liberty.

Another song by the Heights, and some further remarks by Leonard Griffing and Ellwood Patterson. C. C. Burleigh then offered and advocated the following resolutions:

Resolved, That any real union in the government, between slaveholding and non-slaveholding states, is an utter impossibility; that a moral union has existed and still exists only because all the states have been and are really slave states; and that this union must inevitably and speedily be dissolved if slavery shall be wholly separated from the federal government and liberty at the North and slavery at the South be alike the objects of governmental care.

Resolved, That no political platform yet erected has virtue or merit sufficient to tempt us from our present important position, as a strictly moral and religious Anti-Slavery movement; that we shall therefore continue to maintain our doctrine of "no union with slaveholders," and though we rejoice at the signs of progress manifest in the Anti-Slavery movement and other forms of political hostility to Slavery, we shall yet be ever mindful of the radical principles for which we are distinguished.

The whole of the resolutions before the Convention were adopted by a unanimous vote. The Finance Committee gave notice that they were not prepared for a full report, but that one should appear in the next number of the Bugle. After another song the convention adjourned sine die.

A. BROOKE, President.
C. H. GARRIGUE, Secretary.
J. W. MORGAN, Secretary.

GERRIT SMITH ON CONGRESS AND CONGRESSMEN.
Mr. Smith answers F. Douglass' questions which we published last week in the following communication.

From F. Douglass' Paper.
PETERBORO, AUG. 28, 1854.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS: MY DEAR FRIEND:—I see, in your last paper, your letter to myself. I shall take great pleasure in answering your questions, since you are of the number of those, whose wishes I am especially glad to gratify. I have been away, I went to Congress with a very little hope of the peaceful termination of American slavery. I have returned with less. I still see no evidence, that the North will act effectually for such termination—for I still see no evidence, that it will act honestly for it. It is true, that I learn of anti-Slavery indignation meetings, all over the north. But this does not greatly encourage me. It is repentance, not indignation, which the North needs to feel, and to manifest. It becomes not the North to be angry with the South about the Nebraska bill, or about any other great crime; nor to exclaim, "Her duty is to confess her shame and sorrow, that her political, ecclesiastical, and commercial influence has gone to uphold Slavery, and to deceive the but-too-willing-to-be-deceived South into the belief, that slavery is right, or, at least, excusable. Had there been such confession, there would have been no Nebraska bill to get angry about, or to make party capital of. Had there been such confession, the South would have had no heart to extend slavery. All her concern would have been to abolish it.

Now, for the North to be honest in the matter of slavery, is to treat it as they would any other great crime; and, therefore, to deny, that there can be a law for it. It is, in a word, to do unto others, in that matter, as they would have others do unto them, in it. Do the people of the North believe, that they would honor and obey slavery, as they would honor and obey any other great crime? If they do not, then they are dishonest, in acknowledging it to be law, when others are its victims. It is said, that the honesty, which I here commend, would exasperate the South. I answer, slavery is a crime, and to exasperate the South, is to exasperate the South. Let the North say, "We have sinned against our enslaved brother, in acknowledging that the innumerable crime against him is capable of the obligations and sacredness of law. We will do so no more—whatever Constitutions and Statutes may be, we will not obey them, and we will not suffer our trade, and in our political and religious party connections." Let the North speak such words of penitence and principle—and the South will listen. When the Northern heart begins to melt, the Southern heart, also, will begin to melt.

It is demonstrations of our honesty, not of our cunning, which we need to influence and convert the South. The tricks, which Northern Legislatures have resorted to, or threatened to resort to, for the purpose of evading, or nullifying, the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution and the fugitive slave statute of Congress, can have no tendency to inspire the South either with the fear of us, or the love of us. I need not say it for the ten thousandth time—that my eyes detect no slavery in the Constitution, and that I utterly deny, that the attempt to smuggle slavery into it was, at all, successful. But the great mass of the North, and people widely disagree with me, at this point; and, hence what is required of them by the spirit of truth and the God of truth is, not to practice indirection and fraud, but frankly to acknowledge, that the South has their hand, and that so wicked a business as this, which they are endeavoring to refuse, at whatever hazard, to fulfill it.

I referred to the fact, that my hope of the bloodless termination of American slavery is less now than it was, when I went to Congress. I confess, that I did hope to find some Southern men there, who would stand up in bringing about such a termination. But I found none of them who are willing to lift so much, as a finger, to this end. A few Southern members of Congress seek, by means of non-sensical and wicked speculations on the nature of the African and on the Divine purposes, to persuade themselves, that slavery is right in itself. As a matter of course, such content, that Slavery should endure forever. But even with the mass of them, the ease is very little more hopeful. It is true, that they admit, that slavery is, in itself, an evil. But they will do nothing to put an end to it. They had rather amuse themselves with the notion, that Colonization will drain it off, or with some other equally great absurdity—if indeed, there is, or can be, any other as great. The more, however, that I know of this class of Southern men, the more satisfied I am, that even those of them who are the most deeply convinced of the wrongfulness of slavery, regard the evil as too formidable for their little courage to grapple with. They are cowed in the presence of its magnitude; and they prefer to let it roll on to an indefinite future, and to a prosperity which, they hope, will have more advantages than now exist, for happily disposing of it.

And, you ask, if the anti-slavery cause has any thing to hope for from the present Congress. It has not. What can Liberty hope from a Congress, that commits so heinous a crime against her, as to pass the Nebraska bill? What from a House of Representatives, not fifty members of which dared to say, that they were in favor of repealing the fugitive slave Act?

Did you wish my opinions of the influence of the anti-slavery members; and, then, you can judge for yourself what must be the character and extent of the influence, which they exert. I take it for granted, that you mean by anti-slavery members those only, who are known as abolitionists, and who accept the reproach of being abolitionists.

Chase is wise, learned, upright. He is an able lawyer and an able statesman. His range of thought and information is wide; and, even without special preparation, he can speak well on the subjects, that come before him. But he is not so ready and versatile, as Chase. But put into his hands a subject, which interests his heart—Pence or Freedom, for instance—and give him time to elaborate it—and where is the man, who can speak or write better? Sumner is as guileless and ingenuous as a child; and, hence, my admiration at the base and ferocious feeling manifested toward him, at one period of the Session. Chase and Sumner are gentlemen—Christian gentlemen. Great is my love of them; and were I to add, "passing the love of women," I should not be guilty of great extravagance.

Gillette has been in the Senate but a short time;—long enough, however, to give evidence, that he has a sound head and a sound heart. He loves his anti-slavery cause, as well as Chase and Sumner; and surpasses them in zeal for the no less precious cause of temperance.

To come to the abolitionists in the House. All know "Old Giddings." An able man is he. His rough, strong, common sense is worth infinitely more than the refinement and polish of which so many light minded men are vain. He has a ready and powerful in debate. An honest, manly, and powerful in debate. I shall never forget the many proofs which I witnessed of his unflinching devotion to the right and the true. If his severity upon slaveholders is, sometimes, excessive, nevertheless it is not for them to complain of it. He learned it of them. Or, to say the least, it is a very natural retaliation for the wrongs and outrages, which, for a dozen or fifteen years, they have been industriously heaping upon him. Greatly do I rejoice to see that the friends of freedom have taken him up for another election to Congress. They honor themselves in honoring him. There should not be one vote against him.

I must not fail to advert, in this connection, to my great obligations to Mr. Giddings for the assistance, which he so kindly and generously afforded me, in my ignorance of the rules of the House.

We turn, next, to Edward Wade of Ohio. A stranger, looking over the House, would make no account of that black little fellow, who sits in the corner of it. But let him read Edward Wade's remarkably strong speech on the Nebraska bill, or hear one of his fifty five minutes speeches, and he will find that he has another occasion for applying the Savior's injunction: "Judge not according to the appearance." Wade is an eminently conscientious and religious man. I am glad to see, that he, too, is nominated for another election to Congress. He should be, as often as he is willing to take the nomination.

Colonel DeWitt of Massachusetts was sick much of the Session. All who were so fortunate, as to become acquainted with him, were impressed with his good sense, generous disposition, and agreeable manners. As Davis of Rhode Island was chosen by the democratic party that party may not thank me for calling him an abolitionist. Nevertheless, he is our He has a brotherly heart for every human being, and that makes him an abolitionist. I sat next to him, during the whole Session; and I esteemed it no small privilege to sit, for so long a time, by the side of one, who is so sincere, so able, so unflinching, so disinterested. Davis is a plain, but forcible, speaker. The city of Providence owes him much for his effective speeches in behalf of a large, perhaps, too large appropriation for building her custom-house.

I have, now, spoken of all the abolitionists in Congress, save myself; and, since, in the judgment of many, I have fallen from abolition, I had better not speak of myself. Do not exult over my apostasy. Even you, though a literally "died in the wool" abolitionist, should rather be admonished by my apostasy to take heed lest you yourself fall.

4th. In answer to your fourth question, I would say, that all the members of Congress, who belong to the Whig or Democratic party, are necessarily "supporters of slavery." Every national party in this country must be so. Slavery is a national evil, and, therefore, in no party; that is anti-slavery. I cheerfully admit, that there is many a Democrat, earnestly anti-slavery. Nevertheless, their individual influence against slavery is as nothing compared with their party influence for it. As well may a man, with a single vote, try to his neck, to save his drowning fellow, as a Whig or a Democrat try, under his heavy pro-slavery load to promote the anti-slavery cause. His anti-slavery endeavors, however sincere, are all frustrated by his pro-slavery party connection; and that connection must be dissolved, ere he can give effect to those endeavors. Our national parties, ecclesiastical, as well as political, once abolished, and the peaceful death of slavery would be a speedy event. But the great reason, why we are denied the prospect of this happy event, is that the members of these parties, large as they are, and are too far under their infatuating influence, to consent to their abolition.

5th. I proceed to answer your last inquiry. There are in the House a number of gentlemen of remarkable capacity and training for the transaction of business. Conspicuously among them are, Hiram of New York, and Orr of South Carolina, and Phelps of Maine—all three of whom are not only judicious, and clear-headed, but swift, in business. Breckenridge of Kentucky is, perhaps the best of them. He gave us but few specimens of his powers. They were sufficient, however, to prove, that his very keen and vigorous intellect is habituated to business. Judging from the admirable discharge of his duties, as Speaker, Boyd of Kentucky must be, in all aspects, one of the best business men in the House. Letcher of Virginia, and Jones of Tennessee, are as expert in stopping business, as any members of the House are in doing it; and to stop business is, often times, more meritorious and useful than to do it.

Chandler of Pennsylvania, is prominent among the scholars of the House. Judge Perkins of Louisiana, struck me as a gentleman of very great refinement, both in mind and manner. F. P. Stanton has a rich and beautiful mind. His turn is as speculative as R. H. Stanton's is practical. The former of these brothers lives in Tennessee. The latter in Kentucky. With the single exception of Richard, who is all facts and figures, the whole Stanton family, in several of its generations, is highly poetical.

The House can boast of wit, also. Ewing of Kentucky, is inferior to none of them. I could name several members of the House who are decidedly eloquent. Gov. Smith of Ohio, with his lively mind, smooth and ready utterance, and various other qualities, must be very effective "on the stump." I wish Banks of Massachusetts, would lay hold of themes worthy of his fine powers of oratory. He would find it easier to be eloquent on them than on inferior subjects. Indeed, great cause is itself eloquence; and the most, which he, who speaks for it, needs to do, is to stand out of its way, and let it speak for itself.

Beaton in respect to his remarkable fulness of political knowledge, and in some other respects also, is, of course, the great man of the House. But he is not the only strongman there. There are more than twenty in that body, who deserve to be called strong men. There is no lack of talent in it. I wish I could add, that there is no lack of morals and manners in it. But, while some of the members are emphatically gentlemen, in their spirit and in their personal habits, there are more of them, who use profane language, or defile themselves with tobacco, or poison themselves with rum. I trust that the day has already dawned, in which it will not be allowed, that gentlemen can be guilty of such coarse and insulting wickedness, of such sheer nastiness, and of such low and sordid sensuality. You were a slave, until you had reached manhood. Hence, the world is surprised, that you have risen into the highest class of public speakers. It is no less cause of surprise, however, that you are a dignified and refined gentleman. Nevertheless, you are, there are strenuous objections to your taking your seat in Congress. How ludicrous a figure, in the eye of reason, is that member of Congress (and there are more than fifty such) who, in one breath, swears, that he would not so disgrace himself, as to sit by the side of "Fred. Douglass;" and who, in the next breath, squirts his tobacco juice upon the carpet!

I became pretty well acquainted with nearly all the members of the House. In very many of them

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

I. A. HINE TO THE BUGLE.

Knownothingism—Lovers through the Summer—
Advantages of London—Douglas at Chicago.

LONDON, September 8, 1854.

Mr. Editor: Some of my acquaintances may, perhaps, be waiting to learn from me through the Bugle, in relation to certain questions that have recently sprung upon the American people.

The Society of Knownothings has lately assumed a prominent position. Its secret political operations seem to largely gratify the natives, to surprise the outsiders, alarm the foreigners, and fill the old party hacks with consternation.

As far as the enterprise of sundering old party organizations is concerned, no one can more heartily cheer it on than this writer. But before he assists to effect this "consummation most devoutly to be wished," he must be assured that there is not a greater evil at the bottom of it. If we measure the emotions of the heart by the falsities of the head, it would be indiscreet to favor a secret party with a platform runker with falsehood and wrong than those of the old parties; for by the rule it is more corrupt than those organizations which have weighed so heavily upon the progress of our politics.

What is the Knownothing platform? Many say it is simply hostility to the old parties. Believe it not, except as it can be made to promote certain designs they have mainly in view. They have certain doctrines to carry into law, and are necessarily opposed to all parties that refuse to endorse their views. What, then, are their principles?

1. War "to the knife" upon Catholicism.
2. No vote of foreign birth to hold any office.
3. Repeal of our naturalization laws.
4. No Catholic to have office.
5. Scaling back all imported paupers.
6. No foreigner to enjoy the benefits of a Homestead bill.

It is said that we know nothing about their principles. Now it is not certainly known that the above is not at least a part of their platform. I have evidence enough to satisfy me that these are the principal objects they have in view. It is a fact that all the papers that heartily sympathize with the order, advocate this creed. It is true that to become a member, a man must not only have been born in this country, but both his parents must also be natives. I know several cases of rejections, because one of the applicant's parents was born abroad. This of itself speaks volumes concerning the deadly character of the warfare which is being waged against two millions of our people as well as against all who seek homes in our land. There is other conclusive evidence. The old Native Americans and this order have a very tender regard for each other, except when they quarrel in the lodge about the officers of the order, and the old Protestant Association organized to put down Catholicism, is in council with this secret society. If we descend from the more respectable of the order to the more rowdyish members, we hear little else but curses upon the foreigners.

Those who know me have no difficulty in conceiving my position in respect to such a platform. It is infinitely worse than either all of the Baltimore platform ever adopted. The latter was only an attempt to extend the reign of freedom, the former actually assaults the very essence of Republican liberty, and proposes to rob the nation of freedom which it secures to millions of its white population! Having advocated the abolition of all legal distinction founded on color or sex, how consistent would I be to assist a party to place and power, having for its object the prescription of a large minority now free? Let us save what liberty we have and do what we can to get more. Let Native Americanism triumph, and the cause of anti-slavery is put back for a long period, because it would be supposed that those who profess white men on account of nativity and religion, cannot have much regard for our colored brethren. We first overcome our prejudice against those of our own complexion.

Every one is free to speak and write against the Catholics or any other sect. This is legitimate and mainly opposition. But the fundamental principle of our government is, toleration and equal civil privileges to all, asking no questions about a man's nativity or religion, when politics are concerned.

They tell us that the Jesuits interfere with our government. But have we not thirty votes to the Catholic's one, and how can the old church do anything unless we are stupid or knavish. If we are stupid, let us wake up. If we are knavish, let the leaders of reason be punished. It is not very inconsistent to wage a crusade against an innocent minority, and let all the native scoundrels of the majority go free. But I have not space here to argue. There is no danger to be apprehended from the foreign elements in this country. Catholicism is old and will soon die. Why do thirty natives, having in their hands all the elements of power, so greatly fear one poor Catholic, that has no wealth, knowledge or influence? Or why do fifteen natives, who say we can whip the world in a fair fight, tremble before one illiterate, hard-working Irishman?—for to every vote of foreign birth there are fifteen native votes.

Circumstances have confined me at home most of the summer. I have made but one trip, and that into Grand Prairie, since I was at Salem. When I get more comfortably fixed, I shall expect to be out two-thirds of the time, through the year. I have worked some—read some—written some, and lectured some in the neighborhood, during the summer. In a literary and reformatory way, I have written a small work on "Money Getting and Money Spending," which is being concluded in the "Type of the Times," and will at once be issued in a volume of about 180 pages.

This location possesses superior advantages. Besides the Little Miami, we have the Hillsborough and Marietta road, soon to be opened to Chillicothe, and into the great coal field. The scenery about it is as good as the country affords, and no place in the United States is more healthy than this has been during the last fifteen months of my residence here. We are twenty-three miles from the city by rail, or sixteen miles by the pike. There is plenty of land to be purchased here at present. Several of the old settlers wish to become pioneers again. Several have built here this season. If some of my liberal friends, who are not afraid of work, could secure residences here, I think we could soon have a good time in the right kind of a community. It takes but little to make this the most radical and national neighborhood in the United States.

I see Douglas was denied free speech in Chicago. I would not interrupt the Devil himself; and I think it looks badly for Free Soilers to deny in theory so long. It cannot be that they intend to deny freedom to the minority, so soon as they are free to speak, without confusion. Free speech is a sacred right, and every freeman should be indignant whenever it is violated. Free speech

don't mean that I shall say what I please, but you shall hold your tongue. In all my radical discussions, I never was seriously disturbed until this summer. The Knownothings, the self-styled champions of free speech, have shamefully excepted me whenever I have spoken on that subject, except in my own neighborhood. Every principle of natural right is as sacred to me as another—let us learn good manners. Douglas is doubtless a very great sinner—but we are bound to believe he does as well as he knows how—and he should be protected in his intellectual and moral sphere. If all thought alike, there would be no need of inserting free speech in our platform. Toleration would be forgotten, except as a fact of history.

CIRCULAR.

THE OHIO POMOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

In pursuance of adjournment, and consultation, The Sixth Session of THE OHIO POMOLOGICAL SOCIETY, is appointed to take place in the City of Columbus, Ohio, on the first Tuesday (5th) of December next, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

The object for selecting this time for the meeting is, to avoid collision with other kindred Societies in their Exhibitions; that the winter fruits will then be in perfection; that it is the season of the greatest leisure with Nurserymen and Fruit Growers; and it will give members an opportunity to avail themselves of the information to be obtained in the examination of collections of fruit at the various Agricultural and Horticultural Exhibitions to be held this Fall.

The object of the Society being to collect, by actual observation, all facts in connection with Western Fruit Culture, and to embody this in such a form, for publication, as will be of the greatest benefit to the public, it is hoped that these are sufficient reasons for the time selected, and that it will insure a full attendance of members, and all interested in the culture of fruit, with a good display of specimens for examination.

To effect this more fully, it is desirable that each member shall come prepared to submit information to the Society on the following points, viz:

First. The fruits cultivated by himself, or in his region, with the proper name, and all the local and synonyms known to him. The character of the soil and subsoil in which grown; if the surface is a level plane, or hill side, the aspect and elevation. What varieties are best adapted to these soils and locations, and their productiveness. The mode of cultivating, pruning, &c. The effect of manures, kind used, when and how applied.

Second. The influence of the stock on the health and duration of the varieties grafted, or budded on the same, and the relative merits of the two modes of propagation, if any. Also, the relative effect of root grafting (as practised by many Nurserymen), and stock grafting, on the health and duration of the tree.

Third. Observations on insects injurious to fruit, trees and vines. The diseases or maladies to which they are subjected, with the best modes, to counteract these evils, with any other information of interest on the subject.

Communications may be addressed to the President or Secretary; and packages of specimens fruit directed to the care of M. B. BATHAM, Esq., Columbus, Ohio; to whom members will also report themselves to learn the place of meeting.

Editors friendly to the object of this Circular, are respectfully requested to give it an insertion in their columns.

A. H. ERNST, President,
J. A. WARDER, Vice President,
F. E. ELLIOTT, Secretary,
M. B. BATHAM, Treasurer.

September 1st, 1854.

THE MAINE LAW.

Reports from Connecticut, report the liquor law which went into effect on the first of August, as working most desirably. The following is from the New Haven Religious Herald:

How THE CONNECTICUT LAW WORKS.—It works with the smoothness and precision of well constructed and well oiled machinery. Noiselessly and with resistless power it moves in its circuit of benevolent reformation, rights that have long been trampled in the dust, giving new hope to the virtuous and proving itself the benefactor alike of the individual and of the State. Impotent attempts have been made to obstruct its operation, which have only resulted in disclosing the malice without aid of the ends of the conspirators. From every corner of the State comes the report of decreased drunkenness and crime, while no difficulty is found in enforcing the law against transgressors. A most admirable auxiliary to justice is the provision with respect to those arrested for intoxication. If they refuse (after being detained till sober) to disclose the name of the person who sold them the liquor they are fined twenty dollars and costs, which usually run up their liquor bill for that case to twenty-five dollars at least, making intoxication a rather expensive luxury. But if they give the required information, they are discharged from custody, and two pleasant results follow:—nobody will venture to sell them any more liquor so that sobriety will be a necessary virtue, and then the liquor dealer will be prosecuted on their testimony and his unlawful business broken up. Hence if men will sell, they must learn the exact capacity of each customer and keep a private table of the ability of tipplers to bear liquor, so as not to send any one away drunk, setting down the name, the number of glasses and the kind of liquor, somewhat thus:

John Toper, three glasses, brandy.
Ned Guzzle, five glasses, rum.
Bob Thirsty, four glasses gin.

Then if John Toper wants a fourth glass, or Ned Guzzle a sixth or Bob Thirsty a fifth, they must be firmly denied, lest their merriment footstep be the loss of their annuity if found drunk, any Indian's portion thus forfeited to be divided equally among the sober. Hole-in-the-dark, a distinguished orator, remarked, in reply, that it was just, but that the same rule ought to be applied to the agent, who *drank a great man*, and had a great annuity. It ought to be the same for him and divided, like the others, for he got drunk very often. The Governor must have felt rather streaked about that time.—Standard.

Bishop Soule.—The Western Christian Advocate says:—

Bishop Soule was in Lebanon City last week, and preached there on Sabbath, the 6th inst. His health is reported good.

So it appears that the Bishop of a slaveholding church can preach in the pulpits of those who "are as much opposed to slavery as anybody."

The Bishop lays his hands upon the holy heads of slaveholders, making them swear that they believe themselves moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon themselves the office of the ministry; and his holy hands break the bread of the communion of the body of Christ to a holy slaveholding membership, and then he comes North and preaches to those who declare slavery to be a great crime. This, of course, is all right with a church which tolerates slaveholding in its own membership, but the evil lies, in our mind, in not being able to reconcile the position and course pursued, with the declaration that slavery is a sin against God and man. We shall not be able to understand it, until we can see that slavery is right, and that it is right to admit to church fellowship those who practice crime, by trampling upon the rights of God and man.—Herald.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN THE WEST.

From the A. S. Standard.

The Western Anti-Slavery Society held its Anniversary, according to announcement, in Salem, Columbia Co., on the 25th, 27th and 28th of last month. A large number of persons, of various shades of Anti-Slavery opinion, assembled to do honor to the occasion and to show their readiness to co-operate, wherein they might, for the overthrow of the deadliest enemy of our country and our race. The meeting opened and closed in the Meeting House of the Friends, commonly known as Hickies; but the Sessions of the Second Day, being Sunday, required the larger shelter of the hall of the Society, which was well accommodated for several years to these hallowed uses. It was pitched in a field near the village, and its ample circumference was crowded both morning and afternoon, with an eagerly attentive audience. Around the edges of the Tent the wagons of distant pilgrims formed an outwork all full of interesting features. There was no species of disorder or disturbance, either in the Meeting or about it, which would have been regarded in these more eastern latitudes as a remarkable circumstance, considering the occasion and the multitude in attendance. All seemed to be deeply impressed with the importance of the object of the Assembly, and to be seriously bent upon seeking out how that object could be best promoted and accomplished. It was a body of earnest, sincere, single-minded men and women who had engaged in the Anti-Slavery work intelligently and resolutely, and into whose labors the idea of financial or backsliding had never entered. It was a privilege and an encouragement to be permitted to see and know them, and to take counsel with them.

The debates were spirited and earnest, covering the whole ground of Anti-Slavery duty and activity. They were conducted in entire good temper, and mutual courtesy, although very opposite opinions were maintained as to the philosophy and method of the Anti-Slavery warfare. The Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution and the efficacy of Anti-Slavery political action were maintained by Messrs. Blackwell and Donaldson of Connecticut. These speakers considered the action, of Salem, with much zeal and ability. The opposite doctrines of the pro-slavery nature of the Constitution, as proved by history and adjudication, of the obligations imposed on those taking the oath to support it, to do, or not to hinder, the pro-slavery works therein, contained in the subsequent duty of refusing to take such oath or to appoint others to take it for us, were urged by Messrs. C. C. Burleigh, Quincy, H. C. Wright, and others. The Society reaffirmed the position it took at the time of its formation, we believe both as to the pro-slavery State and Church, by a very large majority. These resolutions, adopted at the Meeting, embracing the general principles in which all Abolitionists are agreed, and the public measures, consummated or meditated, having for their object the comfort and re-enforcement of Slavery, were also treated of with much zeal that was according to knowledge as well as enthusiasm and eloquence. As the Resolutions and action of the Society will, doubtless, be copied into the columns of the Standard, we shall attempt no more specific account of them at this time. On Sunday evening a large meeting for addresses was held in the Town Hall, at which speeches were made by the Rev. Leonard Griffing, of Connecticut, Mr. Gaines of Cincinnati, Mr. Quincy and Mr. Burleigh.

Large as the gathering was at this Meeting, we were assured that it would have been much larger had it not been for the drought which has consumed so much of the year's vegetation of the State, and had a necessary tendency to narrow the means and depress the spirits of the farmers of the Western States, of whom the bone and sinew of Abolitionism there is made up, and so to prevent many from coming up to our Assembly from the remote districts of those States. But we were comforted to know that there were yet so strong a body in response, of whom the multitude before us were but the sample and the representatives. It is by such that the public sentiment of the Great West is to be modified and changed, and so to bring its mighty weight to bear on the policy of the nation. It is of such minds that the public sentiment is made up, now, which needs only to be emancipated from the clench of grasping and unscrupulous demagogues and to be led in the right direction, to produce mighty results. We are glad to know that the Society intends holding a relay of meetings, assisted by Mr. Burleigh, Mr. and Mrs. Griffing and others, of their own able fellow-laborers, at various points in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, during the autumn. We are sure that such labor could not be bestowed on a better soil, or on a better cultivated field, or on a more receptive and more intelligent people.

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